

# Betuturu Story and Social Practices of Marriage in Serawai Ethnic Groups of Bengkulu

Sarwit Sarwono

Department of Languages and Arts, Faculty of Teacher Education  
University of Bengkulu, Jalan Raya W.R. Supratman, Bengkulu, Indonesia, 38225

\*E-mail of the corresponding author: [sarwitsudiro@gmail.com](mailto:sarwitsudiro@gmail.com)

## Abstract

This paper is intended to discuss the plot and content of the Betuturu oral story in relation to marriage custom, and to discuss the narrative of the story in relation to the maintenance of social function of the *ketua adat* in the marriage practices in Serawai ethnic groups in Bengkulu. In this discussion the Betuturu story seen as a symbolic sign that used intentionally to convey knowledge in social communication. This story living in a very limited environment, spoken at a certain time with a certain audience anyway. From the data available, it can be concluded that the parts and episodes of this story symbolizes knowledge and principles which its manifestation can be found in the actions during a marriage social practices of Serawai ethnic groups in Bengkulu. Part [B] episode [B2], [B3] and [B4] of the story symbolizes *begadisan*, *berasan*, and *ngulang ghunut* in a series of customary marriage. Part [A] episodes [A1] and [A2] symbolizes the principles of *adat kulo* in the practice of marriage. The storytelling tradition of Betuturu which is limited and closed indicating the maintenance of *ketua adat* access on marriage and their authority over the legality of the social actions of Serawai ethnic individuals in the practice of marriage.

**Keywords:** Betuturu story, marriage practice, Serawai ethnic group of Bengkulu

## 1. Introduction

In May 2001, I get oral story entitled Betuturu or also known as Rajo Bujang story. So called *Rajo Bujang* story because the main character of this story is a king who was crowned when he was a bachelor. *Rajo bujang* means “the bachelor king”. The story is called Betuturu because the main character is named Betuturu. The story we recorded from Mr. Rohani (75 years old), the *ketua adat* of the village of Karang Anyar in Seluma Regency.<sup>i</sup> Betuturu story is told in Malay dialect Serawai.<sup>ii</sup> According to Mr. Rohani, in the past the story is told only on full moon nights at the end of the harvest season and before the next growing season. The story is told in a very limited circle, which is only for *ketua-ketua adat*<sup>iii</sup> of ethnic groups of Serawai. The story is considered as a ‘grip’ or ‘benchmark’ which is referred to and followed in terms of the marriage implementation of the Serawai ethnic groups. As oral folklore (Propp 1997) Betuturu story is a sort of biography of ethnic (Dundes 2007)<sup>iv</sup> for the marriage rite matters in Serawai ethnic and show its characteristics as myth.<sup>v</sup> This story can be said to have become extinct because nowadays no longer spoken, and perhaps Mr. Rohani is the only *ketua adat* left who mastering this story.

Betuturu story caught my attention for two reasons. First, this story has a plot that form a standard pattern embodied in a series of marriage practices in Serawai ethnic groups. Second, the events in this story contains the principles referred to and guided by each individual of Serawai in running a series of marriage practices. Thus, this paper is intended to discuss the plot and content of the Betuturu story in relation to the marriage custom knowledge, in addition to discuss the story narrative in relation to the social function of *ketua adat* in the marriage practice in Serawai ethnic groups of Bengkulu. For that purposes above, I felt it was necessary to collect materials about marriage practices series on Serawai ethnic groups through observation and interviews to selected informants.

The discussion is based on the view that the Betuturu story as a sign in social communication system. As a story, SB texts is symbolic sign (Chandler, 2007; Danesi, 2005; van Zoest, 1993) were used intentionally to convey notions or knowledge. The story is told by the *ketua adat* to his audience, i.e *ketua-ketua adat*, in the particular situation context, in the full moon night at the end of the rice planting season and before the next growing season. In the narrative text tradition of Betuturu story, both narrator and listener involved in the “exchange” of experiences and interactions (Teubert, 2010)<sup>vi</sup> to interpret the story (McKee, 2003)<sup>vii</sup>, “*make-meaning activity*” or “*knowledge-making activity*” (Sebeok, 2001, 8). Activities to interpreting the story during storytelling process is essentially acts of socially constructing a knowledge<sup>viii</sup>, that is customary marriages. In such a framework, access to knowledge of a custom marriage means the authority of *ketua adat*. Therefore, both speakers and audience are *ketua adat*. Lay groups or common do not have access to most present in the storytelling tradition. Based on statements such as I expressed above, Betuturu story is figuratively custom knowledge on marriage Serawai ethnic group. Meanwhile, storytelling tradition is a social activity that is intended to build marriage custom knowledge on the one hand, and maintaining social function of custom leaders over social actions in the marriage practices on the other.

## 2. The Plot of the Story

Betuturu story consists of two parts, which I call **Part [A]** and **Part [B]**. Each part is marked by a difference topics, but among topics linked by events such that the parts of the text is an integral whole. Each part consists of several episodes. Each episode is characterized by events and characters as well as the characters actions. **Part [A]** consists of two episodes, while **Part [B]** consists of four episodes, which I mark next to **[A1]**, **[A2]**, **[B1]**, **[B2]**, **[B3]** and **[B4]**. Episodes were narrated in chronological order **[A1]** - **[B1]** - **[B2]** - **[B3]** - **[B4]** - **[A2]**.

Episode **[A1]** tells about a male tiger and a stag which each have a male child. Both cub tiger and fawn are mutual friends. One day, the Tiger did not get a prey that can be eaten. So, he killed the Stag and given the meat to his child as he told him to eat that meat. The Tiger's child asked his father whether he gave the meat of it. The father replied that it was venison that he killed because he did not get another prey. Hearing that the child does not want to eat that venison because it was father of his friend. Son of the Tiger later described the events to friend, child of stag. Both child of the Stag and Tiger then agreed to make retaliation kill the tiger. With both trick, then the tiger was killed. Then both cub and fawn at loggerheads, fighting to kill each other. Their fighting took place near a pool guarded by the king commander. The commander marveling at their fights. Once they realize that fights watched by the commander, the cub and fawn it awkwardly and fell into the pool of the King. Children of the stag and the tiger turned into a two footmen. Both footmen were later taken as a footmen that adopted by the King and given the name *Mademun* and *Madenai*.

Episode **[B1]** tells about *Betuturu* to be king succeed his father after winning the contest. It is said that the King had seven children, one woman and six men. They were *Sang Wo*, *Sang Kerbau*, *Sang Ujai*, *Sang Aki*, *Sang Iki*, *Putri Indah Dayung*, and *Betuturu*. The King was old and he wants to be succeeded by his son. Unfortunately, he had six sons who each have right to succeeded him. In order not to cause jealousy, the King held the contest. Anyone who can name the seven children in one breath, is entitled to be king in his place. None of the children of the King are able to perform such a test, unless the *Betuturu*. Thus, it is the one who has the right, *Betuturu* succeeded his father as king.

Episode **[B2]** tells about *Betuturu*'s journey in the middle of sea looking for future wife. As a king, *Betuturu* properly be married, so his father's advice. In the contrary *Betuturu* asked his father looking for his wife. Then his father find a wife for *Betuturu*, but he always rejected every time his father showed wife candidate for him. Finally *Betuturu* go looking for a wife. *Betuturu* accompanied by a dog and a cat. To get the bride they had to dive to the seabed. So, *Betuturu* order Dog to diving. But the dog cannot dive. Then he order the Cat to dive, after *Betuturu* tied his ring to its tail. At the seabed, the Cat met *Kepiting*. Unfortunately, a ring on his tail fell of and collected regardless by *Kepiting*. Cat asked for the ring from the *Kepiting* by reason that ring belonged to his employer, *Betuturu*, who was looking for a wife. *Kepiting* was not willing to return the ring to the Cats. Because the Cat does not show up to the sea surface, eventually *Betuturu* follow to dive to seabed. At the seabed *Betuturu* met *Kepiting*.

Episode **[B3]** tells about the King and his wife invited his relatives to come and collect the deliberation in order to prepare for the *Betuturu* wedding, after *Betuturu* said that he had found the candidate's wife, which is *Kepiting*. In this episode also narrated about the wedding flurry of *Betuturu* and *Kepiting*.

Episode **[B4]** recounts *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* visit to *Kepiting*'s parents' home a few days after their wedding to ask for salvation prayer. This visit is called *ngulang ghunut*. During the visit *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* bring *ayam berugo* offerings to the parents of *Kepiting*, besides bringing offerings of dishes.

Episode **[A2]** which tells *Madenum* (fawn incarnation is then adopted by the King's) was married to the King's daughter, *Putri Indah Dayung*. Both live in the kingdom *Betuturu* and happy life. Meanwhile, *Madenai* not told in this story.

Thus, the story illustrates the plot and contain the principles referred to in the marriage practice of Serawai ethnic groups. The series of episodes, especially **[B2]** - **[B3]** - **[B4]** in the story describes a series of marriage practices of Serawai ethnic groups. In the prevalence of these ethnic groups, marriage is defined as a social practice that includes a practice series of *begadisan*, *berasan*, and *ngulang ghunut*.

## 3. The Story and the Knowledge of the Marriage

Episode **[B2]** reminds me to *begadisan* practice in Serawai ethnic groups. This episode is narrated in the *Betuturu* go sailing accompanied by a dog and a cat to look for a wife. The events in this episode is symbolized *begadisan* practice. In this episode contained knowledge manifestation that can be found in the individual actions in *begadisan* practice. *Begadisan* in principle is an institutionalized social practices<sup>ix</sup> provided for bachelor and girl to seek a wife. *Begadisan* took place at a girl's house, at night. Bachelor and girl is usually derived from a different village or come from different offspring. The girl who will visited is the girl who had he met before, or it could be brought together or introduced by another bachelor. In *begadisan*, girl will be accompanied by her mother or aunt during their talk and interact. As has been customary practice *begadisan* of Serawai ethnic groups, a bachelor will be accompanied by one or more other footmen when visiting the girl's home for *begadisan*. Customary stipulates that bachelor and girl should not be related or not derived from the

same *sako*. Word of *sako* means pole, and in a broader sense means the origin or *poyang* (ancestor). One who come from the same *sako* means a descendant of their *poyang* is same, whereas those from different *sako* means from different descent from *poyang*. This knowledge represented through figure of *Betuturu* that go sailing accompanied by cat and dog; and show that the *Betuturu* descent is different from *Kepiting* descent: *Betuturu* derived from the land and *Kepiting* comes from the sea.

Told in this episode, for some time after the *Betuturu* not be able to continue his voyage and dwell in the midst of the sea, he sent the dog diving. But the dog also can not dive, can not get to the bottom of the sea where the *Kepiting* live. Like a bachelor who on his first visit to the girl's house, and the girl refused, then the bachelor could not engage in "*rasan mudo*", a conversation between the bachelor and girl to be able to interact more. If in the event of [B2] the dog can not dive, so in *begadisan* practice the bachelor is not accepted by the girl. In the past, the girl's refusal action against the bachelor who visit marked the girl by burning the tip of *buluah biduak* (a kind of bamboo) and rub its ashes on her palm then applied on her lips; or marked with other symbols. The event of the dog who cannot dive reminds me cancellation of *begadisan*<sup>x</sup> because the bachelor had rejected by the girl or for any other reason. Thus, there was no conversation and interaction between both of them.

Then the cat (after the first *Betuturu* tied his ring on his tail) ordered by *Betuturu* to diving. Cat can dive and meet with *Kepiting* on the seabed. Unfortunately, ring that tied to his tail was fell off and collected by *Kepiting*. Cat asked her return it to him because the ring belonged to his master, *Betuturu*, which in the course of searching for a wife. *Kepiting* does not want to return the ring she had picked up. In this incident illustrated that the Cat can interact with *Kepiting* though failed to get an agreement. Supposing, bachelor visiting received by the girl, and the bachelor can do "*rasan mudo*"; the bachelor can talk and interact with girl, both are engaged in conversation each other to reveal the contents of their heart, respectively as well as the Cat in dialogue with *Kepiting*. Although, the conversations and interactions have not produced an agreement. *Rasan belum putus*, a term that is often used to indicate that a conversation not get an agreement. The Cat and *Kepiting* does not agree to the terms.

*Lalu sang Betuturu pegi belayar ndalak bini. La sampai tenga laut, perahunyo mendam di tengah-tengah. Awak sughang sang Betuturu dio hanya dikawani anjing dengan kucing. Datangan sang Betuturu ni nganjungka anjing nyelam. La nyelam palak buntut nimbul. La nyelam buntut palak nimbul.*

*"Udimla anjing, nido ke medal kaba tu".*

*Dan selanjuto diajungkala kucing dengan memasukka cincin ke ikuak kucing. Pas nyelam,*

*"Way ado ghuma di dalam laut ni. Ado anak gadiso".*

*Kareno cincinnyo tadi lepas dan diambiak anak gadis tadi, mangko kucing ni mintak cincin tu tadi.*

*"Tolongla cincin tadi, baliaka tuan aku endak melamar, endak ndalak bini".*

*"Enggup aku ngenjuaka dio. Aku nilah binio". (B2)*

(Then the *Betuturu* go to sailing looking for a wife. When he reached the middle of the sea, the boat stopped. *Betuturu* only accompanied dog and cat. Then *Betuturu* told the dog to dive, but Dog unable to dive, when to his dive, his tail raised, if the tail dive his head arise up.

*"Never mind the dog, you will not be able to dive".*

Furthermore he ordered the cat for dive after a ring tied to his tail. As soon as the cat and dive to the bottom of the sea,

*"Oh, there is a home in the sea and a girl".*

Because the ring is tied to his tail fell off and picked up by *Kepiting*, then the Cat asked for the ring to return to him.

*"Please, return the ring. It rings belong of my lord. He intends to apply for seeking future wife".*

*"I would not to returned it. I am the candidate of his wife".)*

Because the Cat does not go to the surface, then *Betuturu* following the cat dive to seabed. That's where the *Betuturu* met the *Kepiting*. Supposing, a bachelor who visit girl's house who was the umpteenth time to convey meaning, to purpose the girl. *Betuturu* express his intention when he met *Kepiting*, ask the ring is returned. *Kepiting* does not want to return the ring despite the *Betuturu* offer exchange that is "*lading kelam pagi*" (type of knife). This event symbolizes the interaction between bachelor and girl in *begadisan* practice termed "*nepiak tanci sesamo mudo*", a transaction or exchange that ended with an agreement between both of them. The term "*nepiak tanci sesamo mudo*" means establishes an agreement among themselves (bachelor and girl) are dating and agreed to marry. Agreement that someday this will be done by the bachelor by give money to the girl and she gave her cloth or scarf or clothing to the bachelor. Word of *nepiak* (derived *tepiak*) means "put down", "give", or "present" (Helfrich, 1904, 176-177), and *tanci* word meaning "money"; *sesamo mudo* means

“between them: the bachelor and the girl”. *Nepiak tanci sesamo mudo* mark bachelor purpose the girl, *nunang gadis*,<sup>xi</sup> the bachelor makes the girl become girlfriend until the time comes to marry her. Instead, the girl received a bachelor as boyfriend, and that when the time comes to marry him. The term *nepiak tanci sesamo mudo* refers to the sense of “engagement among bachelor and girl”, that the bachelor who loving girl and vice versa, and they agreed to step into marriage.

*Karena Sang Betuturu la lamo nunggu kucing nido nimbul-nimbul. Tuapo pulo diselami. Ado budak gadis alap nianan di dalam ghuma di dalam laut tu, namonyo Kepiting. Nduk bapako nido bedio di ghuma.*

*“Ngapo kaba ke sini?” kato Kepiting.*

*“Akuni ndalaki cicin aku lengit di sini, apo kaba ndapatka dio?”*

*“Aku ndapatka dio, tapi aku enggup ngenjuaka dio”.*

*“Nah aku tukari dengan ini sajo. Namonyo lading kelam pagi. Artinyo pisau kecil yang ujungnyo agak nyelup ke dalam”.*

*Lalu kato kepiting ni tadi, “Baliakla kaba Sang Betuturu, ceritoka dengan Bapak kaba manso kaba la dapat calon bini”.* **[B3]**

(Because Betuturu wait Cat has been so long did not come to the surface, he was diving. In the seabed found a beautiful girl named Kepiting. Her parents were not there.

*“Why are you here?” said Kepiting.*

*“I’m looking for my missing ring. Did you find it?”*

*“I found it. But I do not want to return it”.*

*“Then, I just swap with lading kelam pagi. A little knife that its tips slightly bent”.*

Then Kepiting said, “Betuturu go you back, tell your father that you have get a candidate wife”).

According to the prevailing custom in Serawai ethnic group, a bachelor to visit the girl’s house at least three times. If the same bachelor visit a girl in her house three times consecutively, then it is a sign that there is a match between them. Her parents read it as a sign that the bachelor truly loved his daughter, as well as his daughter truly receive the bachelor. This is the norm of Serawai ethnic group called the *risau*, which literally means anxious or indecisive. Her parents would be *risau* because his daughter had visited a same bachelor 3 (three) times consecutively. Likewise, the bachelor parents will be *risau* anyway because his son was fell in love a girl. Thus, both the parents of bachelor and girl’s parents will collect close relatives to deliberate in their respective families about their children. Thus, episodes of **[B2]** in SB Story tells about three consecutive dives’ (first is the dog, second is the Cat, and third is the *Betuturu*), symbolizes the knowledge of the minimum number visit of the same bachelor to the girl’s house is a sign there is compatibility between the bachelor and the girl.

In the episode **[B3]** tells about father of *Betuturu bejeghum*,<sup>xii</sup> which invites and gather his relatives to prepare the deliberations of the Betuturu wedding after getting known Betuturu have the candidate’s wife. This episode reminds me of the events *berasan* or deliberation, either deliberation in the bachelor family’s, and deliberation between families. Deliberation in the family (in the bachelor family or in the girl family’s) called *bejeghum*, while deliberation between families (between the bachelor family and the girl family’s) called *berasan betunang* and *berasan bekulo*. *Berasan betunang* means deliberation to establish engagement between a bachelor and a girl between the two families. *Berasan bekulo* mean deliberation to bachelor to marry the girl. The word is derived from the basic word *rasan* which means ‘deliberation’. Word *bekulo* comes from the word *kulo*<sup>xiii</sup> meaning family. *Berasan bekulo* (also called *madu kulo*) means to unite the two family deliberation through marriage. The word *madu* is derived from the word *padu* means “one”. *Madu* means “make united”, “make one”. *Madu kulo* means uniting two families become united or become one big family.

*Berasan betunang* usually held at the girl’s house, at night. On the approved day, the bachelor group’s came to the girl house. The delegation consisted of the bachelor group consist of bachelor accompanied by several others, his father and mother, and their close relatives. The delegation is led by an elder and master ing intricacies of indigenous and proficient in speak, which will represent the bachelor family’s in the deliberations. At girl home usually present village head, *rajo penghulu*, *sakonam*,<sup>xiv</sup> village elders, relatives of the girl’s family, neighbors and neighbor. In this case the village head, *rajo penghulu*, and *sakonam* seen as representations of *ketua adat*. The girl family will appoint a representative, an experienced and widely knowledge, mastering the ins and outs of custom and articulate. Arriving at girl’s family home, the bachelor family group will be greeted by the girl and were admitted (especially the men) into the *luan* (living room). In this *luan* the bachelor family groups and girl family group sit face to face. Representatives of the bachelor family’s first obtaining permission from the village head, *rajo penghulu*, *sakonam* prior consultation with representatives of the girl’s family. Topics to be discussed is the matter of the engagement the girl and the bachelor, *kulo* custom type to be agreed upon, the amount of *uang pengendak* and *uang pembantu kawin*,<sup>xv</sup> as well as the wedding party will held. After the discussion is finished, representatives of the girl’s family will communicate the results to the village head, *rajo penghulu*, and *sakonam*. Furthermore, the village head or *rajo penghulu* or *sakonam* reiterated deliberation

results to all in attendance. The event closed with a banquet together.

*Berasan bekulo* began with *nughunka pengantin*<sup>xvi</sup> (put down the groom) by the family of the groom. Then the groom's entourage *belarak* (on foot, or using a vehicle) to assign it to *ghuma punco*, the home where the *berasan bekulo* was held. The delegation consisted of the parents and relatives of the groom, and the neighbor and those whom the elder, men and women. If the groom's home away from *ghuma punco*, the wedding party will stop first at *tindanan* house to take a break and dress up. House of *tindanan* in general is a house belong the bride's relatives, is located not far away with *ghuma punco*. Arriving at *ghuma punco* groom entourage were welcomed by representatives of the host family. Groom's entourage (which groom and father) are welcomed to *pengujung*.<sup>xvii</sup> While waiting for the event taking place *berasan bekulo* all women from the groom's family stationed in other parts, inside the house or in tents provided. In that *pengujung berasan bekulo* or *madu kulo* and wedding covenant was held.

Beginning with a welcome by representative of the girl family, *berasan kulo* deliberation followed by questions about the intention of the group arrival about after chewing betel nut. Representative of the groom then replied that they are in groups with intended to resolve the issue, which has been previously set appointments on *berasan betunang*, after first obtaining permission from the village head, *rajo penghulu*, and *sakonam*. The promise intended is what has ever talked about and agreed on *berasan betunang* and when conveying *antaran* or *pengendak* sometime earlier. After representatives of the groom's family consulted with representatives of the bride's family and get an agreement, then custom stake holder (village chief or *rajo penghulu* or *sakonam*) closing *berasan bekulo* by re-express the agreement of both parties is a binding agreement in customary and shall be known by all citizens. Furthermore, wedding covenant was took place. All women from the bride and groom joined at the end to witness the marriage ceremony the girl and the bachelor.

**Episode [B3]** reminds me of *berasan betunang* and *berasan bekulo* practices in marriage practices in the Serawai ethnic group.

*Nah, mangku tu bak sang Betuturu ni tadi nunggalka adiyak sanak manso dio tu ndak nikahka sang Betuturu. La udim tu mak Sang Betuturu bejeghum ke Bengkulu nyenguak keluarga, ndak nganjungka baliak ke ghuma o. Manso dio tu endak nikahka sang Betuturu dan bimbang tu bimbang adat, yaitu bimbang tujuwa aghi tujuwa malam ([B3]).*

(Well, then *Betuturu* father unite *Betuturu* sister and brother, relatives (family and friends) as well, because he wanted to marry *Betuturu*. Mother of *Betuturu*. Then *bejeghum* to Bengkulu, to visit relatives and family, asking them come to her home because she was going to marry *Betuturu* by carrying out party (undecided) for seven days and seven nights).

Furthermore, in the episode **[B4]** narrated that after the wedding, the *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* go visit their parents bring a rooster in order to ask for salvation prayer and offerings. The events of newlyweds visit to parents-in-laws house a few days after the wedding in the Serawai ethnic group commonly known as *ngulang ghunut*.

*La udim bimbang tu Sang Betuturu dengan Kepiting ni tadi berayak ke ghuma jemo tuwo Kepiting, dengan mbatak ayam lanang sikuak dan dananan minto dua yak ughang ni baliak minta dua di ghuma jemo tuo Kepiting ([B4])*

(After the wedding party was over, the *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* went home to *Kepiting* parents, bringing with them rooster and offerings to ask for prayer).

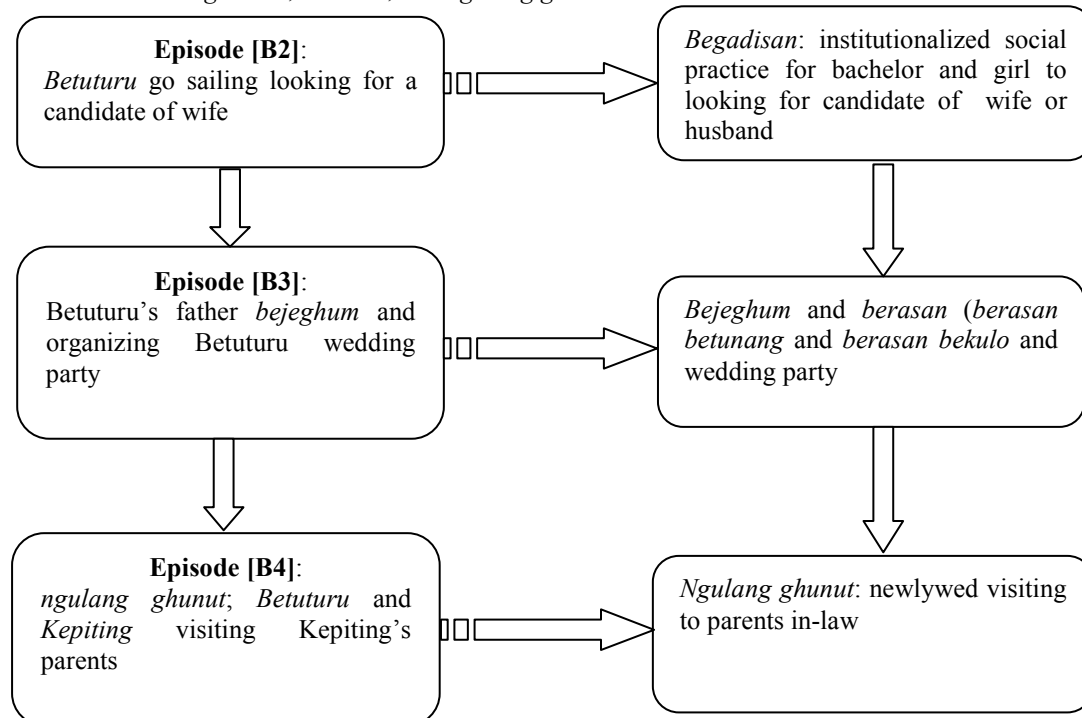
*Ngulang* (from the word *ulang*) means 'again' and *ghunut* meaning 'trace' or 'origin' (Helfirch, 1904, 149). *Ngulang ghunut* meant traveling to "asal mula pejadi". The term "asal mula pejadi" understood by Serawai ethnic group as that term refers to our parents. In this context, *ngulang ghunut* implies a newlywed trip come home to the parents (either man or woman) as a person who mediates down and their birth into the world. The trip was accompanied by rooster and offerings of food and cloth as well as an expression of gratitude is done in order to ask for prayer.

Important I add here that the idea as told through episodes **[B3]** contained in the manuscripts **MNB 07.20** and **MNB 07.48**.<sup>xviii</sup> In the first manuscript is written in a very concise about *bejeghum* among other things, job title and duties of the *bimbang* committee or wedding party, as well as family obligations to perform weddings to indigenous stakeholders and *bimbang* committee. At the end of the first manuscript also written about *ngulang ghunut*, as stated in the sentence *waktu beghulang ghunut pengantin ngenjuwak pulo penyambahan nga mentuwo lanang, nga mentuwo tino secukup* (when executing *ngulang ghunut*, brides bring sufficient offerings for father-in-law and mother-in-law). Meanwhile, the second manuscript written about *ngulang ghunut*. At the end of the second manuscript is written as follows.

*Udim santuak kuma berayak beghulang ghunut bebujang begadis matak bekalan bajik. Lanang tu matak penyamban nga mentuwo lanang kayin bughuak nga mentuwo tino selindang. Bekalan bajik tapagh nga pamili jemo ditumpak. Sapu nyo dapat bekalan bajik itu mentuwo makan galo. Sikat jemo mantaw makan situ tandoyo pamili jemo ghuma itu karuwani nga pengantin (MNB07.48).*

(After (the wedding) is over, the bride and groom *beghulang ghunut* bringing with them food. Groom bring offerings to his father-in-law *kain buruk* (a term for garments or fabrics) and for mother in-law a scarf. Brought food intended for relatives destination (relatives-in-law) and to be enjoyed either by parents in-law or relatives in-law. People who come to enjoy the food brought by the bride and groom means those are relatives-in-law, and that they should be known and respected by the bride).

In short, the episodes [B2] - [B3] - [B4] SB story containing actualization of knowledge that we find in the individuals actions during and in *begadisan* - *berasan* practices (both in meaning *berasan betunang* and *berasan bekulo*) - *ghunut ngulang* practice. SB storylines, especially those expressed through the episodes [B2] - [B3] - [B4] is a symbolic sign of the marriage custom knowledge that govern acts in marriage practices, particularly those related to *begadisan*, *berasan*, and *ngulang ghunut*.



Besides that Betuturu storyline depicts a series of wedding practices, this story also contains principles knowledge referred to marriage practices. Story of *Madenum* (incarnate son of the stag then adopted son of the King) in the episode [A1] is married to the only daughter of the King, *Putri Indah Dayung*, in episode [A2] reminds me about the knowledge that actualization which appear in implementation *adat kulo tambik anak* in the marriage tradition of Serawai ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the wedding party between *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* held at the *Betuturu* home (as narrated in episode [B3]) and the event of *ghunut ngulang* conducted by the *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* visit to *Kepiting* parents house (as narrated in episodes [B4]) reminds me of the knowledge that it contains the principles manifestation that we have encountered in the *jujugh kulo* custom in wedding tradition of Serawai ethnic groups.

In Serawai wedding practice are two main types of *adat kulo*, which regulates the position of man and woman in marriage and thereafter, that is *jujugh*<sup>xix</sup> and *tambik anak*. *Adat kulot jujugh* establish the position of man is higher than women. Some scholars even give a 'extreme' sense about *jujugh*, namely that woman are seen as a sort of 'slave' or objects purchased by man (Wink, 1926, 30-31) and therefore woman become the sole property of men and their families. Marsden (1975, 257-258), for example, gives following description of *jujugh*.

*"The jujugh is a certain sum of money, given by one to another, as a consideration for the person of his daughter, whose situation, in this case, differs not much from that of a slave to the man she marries, and to his family. His absolute property in her depends, however, upon some nice circumstances. Beside batang jujur (or main sum), there are certain appendages or branches, one of which, the tali kulo, of five dollars, is usually, from motives of delicacy or friendship, left unpaid, and so long as that is the case, a relationship is understood to subsist between the two families, and the parents of the woman have a right to interfere on occasion of ill treatment: the husband is also liable to be fined for wounding her; with other limitations of absolute right. When the sum is finally paid, which seldom happens but in case of violent quarrel, the tali kulo (tie of relationship) is said to be putus (broken), and the women becomes to all intents the slave of her lord ...."*

View about *adat jujugh kulo* is described Marsden above, along with manuscripts written in **MNB 07.48**. In this manuscript written *Kalu kulo bejujugh damonyo juwal lepas setoyo delapan puluwa riyal bekeghis sebila besiwar sebila. Namonyo siwar pengighis limaw semiru. (Kulo jujugh also called juwal lepas, replacement as 80 riyals plus the blade of a kris and siwar. Name is siwar lime slicers). Literally, juwal lepas means 'unsold and bought back'. This term refers to the notion that the marriage based jujugh kulo, a woman will be fully released from bonding with her family, will lose contact with and disenfranchised from their families, as well as fully-owned or a part of the husband's family.*

Related to *adat jujugh kulo*, Hazarin (1936) and Siddik (1980) have a different view from Marsden's view as mentioned above. According to Hazarin, *adat jujugh kulo* does not mean to make a woman like a slave for her husband and the husband's family. Married woman are jujugh only will lose their rights of her family. In this case *putus tali kulo*, breakup her kinship. If Marsden and Wink assume that money and objects given by one person to a family because married woman of the family as a 'purchase' or 'kooprijis' in material dimension, otherwise Hazarin interpret the provision of money and objects as a "substitute" and spiritual dimensions. *Jujugh* married women are not make her as a slave for her husband and the husband's family, but fully become part of the family of her husband because she had been released or terminated her relationship with his family as a 'spiritual' with 'lèkèt' in the form of a sum of money and objects.<sup>xx</sup>

The consequences of a woman who married *jujugh* is that she will stay in the husband's family home after marriage. The woman became part of the husband's family and toward her family she loses her rights, *putus tali kulo* (Siddik, 1980, 224-228). In the case of a marriage based on a *adat jujugh kulo*, the wedding party will be held at the man's house. Thus practice of *ngulang ghunut* for newlywed by visiting parents of the bride. As the wedding party at *Kepiting* and *Betuturu* held at his Betuturu parents' home, and *ngulang ghunut* in this regard is the new substitute for a visit to the house of the *Kepiting* parents.

*Adat kulo tambik anak*, placing the position of woman is higher than man. Word of *tambik* is derived from word *ambik* or *ambiak* which means 'take'. *Tambik* is formed from *te-* + *ambik*, so *tambik* 'drawn' or 'taken'. *Tambik anak* means a man is taken as son-in-law by a family on the basis of various considerations. For example, boy is come from poor family, or do not have a clear origin or immigrants, but has a good nature and character, healthy, and diligent work. On that basis, a family is pleased to take it as a son-in-law for his daughter husband.

In Marsden view (Marsden, 1975, 225 and 228), *tambik anak* has same principle as *jujugh*, namely that the *ambel-anak*, a man and his descendants became "property" of wife or wife's family.

*"Marriage by ambel-anak, which rendered a man and his descendants the property of the family he married to, .... A man married by ambel-anak, may redeem himself and family, on payment of the jujur and adat of a virgin before-mentioned."*

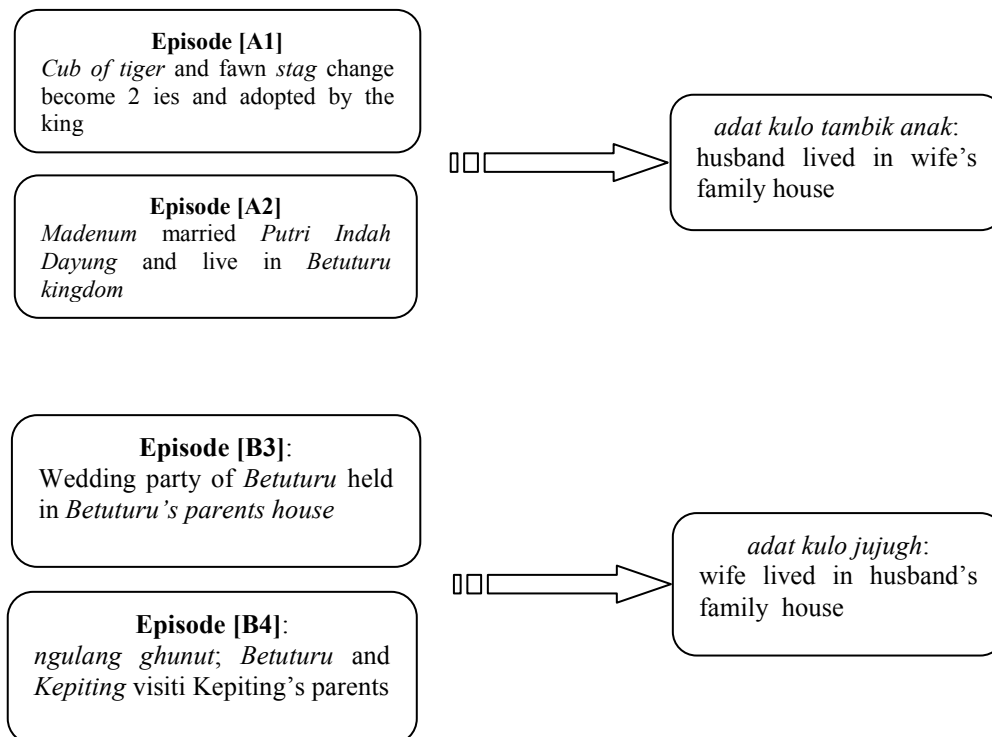
It is noteworthy concerning to *adat kulo tambik anak* I find more information in the manuscript **MNB 07.48**. In this manuscript stated that *Kalu kulo tambik anak lengit sesindiak lanang barato turut tino disumpa dijaloji tino lekap in ghuma tino* (In the case of *tambik kulo anak lengit*, man followed his woman with promise and oath forever settled in the house become a part of woman family). In this sense, man who marry under *adat kulo tambik anak*, man will lose touch with their families and were in complete woman family.

This view differs from Hazarin (1936). In Hazarin view, a man who married a *tambik anak* do not lose touch with his family and kinship nor enter into and/or be part of the wife's family after marriage. A man who married *tambik anak* will not only have rights to the children of that marriage results.<sup>xxi</sup>

Principle of *adat kulo tambik anak* as I present above it is obvious from the events in the episode [A1] and [A2] Betuturu story. In the episode [A1] told *Madenum* (the child incarnation of the stag) is taken as a foster child by the King (the father Betuturu) and in the episode [A2] dikisahkan *Madenum* married *Putri Indah Dayung*, the only daughter of the King.

*La lamo jugo Mademun menikah dengan Putri Indah Dayung, yang mano mereka tinggal juga di kerajaan yang dipimpin Sang Betuturu dan mereka hidup bahagia. [A2]*  
(Finally *Madenum* married *Putri Indah Dayung*. They live in the kingdom led Betuturu and happy life).

Thus the principle of custom and *adat kulo jujugh tambik* symbolic story told in the SB, through the events in the episodes [B3] and [B4] and [A1] and [A2].



Thus, the overall story of Betuturu is figuratively a wedding indigenous knowledge construction. Knowledge as contained in this story is the knowledge that guide and regulate actions and the actions of individuals for social marriage. This knowledge is also providing the possibility for each individual Serawai to set his status to other individuals in marriage matters according to the circumstances of the individual concerned.

#### 4. Narrating the story: constructing and maintaining the knowledge of marriage

Betuturu story lives in very limited circles, its spread was so limited that very little of the traditional leaders who master it. Mr. Rohani claimed first listened to this text when he was approximately 25 years ago (circa 50's) with his father (who is also chairman of the custom) and some from neighboring villages (which he knew was that they were the traditional leaders) on one occasion that he did not remember the exact context. When there are 6 attendances, he remembered, and generally middle-aged. Since the first time he attended the Betuturu storytelling and listening, he started compelled to study indigenous knowledge, he was beginning to get excited to attend and follow the text spoken back at another time.

Since the 1960s, it can be said Betuturu storytelling is not established yet, as just disappear without known exactly why, according to the information I get from Mr. Rohani. Mr. Rohani claimed that his participation and listen to this story is a valuable experience. Because, when he listened to this story from the beginning to the end of the story, he felt that he saw a 'match' with what he saw in everyday life of Serawai people when implementing marriage practices. For Mr. Rohani, the story is about the wedding Serawai, is believed to be the source of truth for the actions that should have been in the practice of marriage, a kind of "benchmark" or "grip" for the implementation of Serawai wedding. Such was, as told in the story that's supposed execution Betuturu marriage Serawai do.

Mr. Rohani tells that Betuturu storytelling that is typically carried out at the end and before the beginning of the next growing season, when work in the fields and in the fields was ends, while the next job has not been done. The time is usually on full moon night. In my calculations, that period lasted between July to September according to the solar calendar. Therefore, in October usually work in the fields planting began considering as early October in rainy season. Keep in mind, rice that planted by Serawai was local rice generally by age 6 months 10 days. During the period from July to September that residents have free time that can be used for various purposes, such as organizing *bimbang* or wedding. At the end of the period and before the next planting season which is typically a social activity performed rites, such as village cleaning or put down heritage village to be cleansed, and *bimbang* or weddings party. In social rites such the village elders, traditional leaders, and *sakonam* present and gather witness the practice of the social rites.

Mr. Rohani tells his experiences that on the wedding party occasion or *bimbang* it is the time for traditional leaders to meet. At that times they talk about things relating to *adat*. When the corresponding time, on the right night, Betuturu story told among the *ketua-ketua adat* who can and is pleased to be present. According to Mr. Rohani, Betuturu text spoken by one of the *ketua-ketua adat* in attendance and the 'elder', is considered to



have many advantages, for example, more experienced, more mature personality. Mr. Rohani said that he never had been narrate the text in the presence of indigenous elders, considering among those who frequently present in the narrative of this text, he classified the youngest.

Based on the narrative experience of Mr. Rohani, I concluded that the text says and listen the story I could interpret as a construction of knowledge, in this case knowledge of marriage customs. From Mr. Rohani narrative experience obvious to me that the story told to communicate and also to build knowledge of marriage customs, very limited environment, only for the *ketua-ketua adat*. Betuturu storytelling is a social practice because it is contained in the various aspects of the events that appear and articulated simultaneously. SB storytelling takes place in 'exchange' experiences and interactions in the specific context of the narrator and the listener. When listening to the the story, the listener is not passive, but active, interpret every event and action figures of the story, connecting it with the knowledge and experience of its colloquial factual for marriage matters. For speaker and listener stories, events, characters and action figures in the story has a meaning not contained in the Betuturu story, but on what is contained in the 'outside' of the story.

In the framework of storytelling as communication and interaction between speakers-listeners, Betuturu story is used as a symbolic mark in its function as a *signifier* to designate marriage knowledge as *signified*.<sup>xxii</sup> Episodes, events and actions of the characters in each episode marked a knowledge and principles to the listeners, the meaning is found outside the text, events and actions of individuals in a variety of marriage practices. During the process of narrative the text, active listener connects the events in the story of Betuturu with the experience and daily practices concerning marriage. Listeners interpret it based on its linkage with whom he has seen and heard and experienced in the environment with which they are located, and not solely based on the textual meaning of 'isolated' in the Betuturu story. During the process of narrative the text, listeners discover and construct meaning by way of placing and connecting various events and action figures in the text of Betuturu with things outside of the story. That meaning, obtained during the Betuturu storytelling process is a construction of which contain actualization principles and manifestation seen and experienced the reality of their lives. Meaning of the story and narrative text is not in the texts, but outside the text. The meaning of Betuturu story lies not in what is in the 'text' is, but rather lies in what is done by individuals of Serawai ethnic groups concerning to their life wedding matters, "... 'meaning' does not so much reside in the discourse itself, but rather resides in the actions that take with it" Jones, Rodney H. and Sigrid Norris, 2005, 4 and 6). Meaning of Betuturu text lies in its function as a signifier, where the actions of the in the practice of referring to marriage.

The knowledge involving different *sako* in marriage practices are communicated and constructed through a variety of events and action figures in the story, as in the episode [A2] and [B2]. *Madenum* different origin kepyongan with *Putri Indah Dayung* who he married to. *Madenum* is a child incarnation of the stag, while the *Putri Indah Dayung* is the only daughter of the King. Furthermore, the *Betuturu* origin is different with the *Kepiting*. The *Betuturu* derived from land, while *Kepiting* comes from the seabed. These episodes contain a principle which are bachelor and girl, man and woman can marry come from different origins, different *sako*, or that does not have a blood relationship. Between *Madenum* and *Putri Indah Dayung* not blood relatives, as well as between the *Betuturu* and the *Kepiting*.

Figures of dog and cat in the text symbol of the companion of "bachelor" (which is in the text represented by figures of *Betuturu*) in *begadisan* practice. Events meeting the *Betuturu* and *Kepiting*, on the third time (the first dog can not dive, second cats that can dive but failed to get an agreement) is the symbol of minimum number in the prevalence *begadisan* for up to *betepiak tanci* social action, which is an agreement between a bachelor and a girl to *besantingan* ("dating") and to live together in marriage when the time comes.

Principle of *adat kulo jujugh* be communicated and constructed through episode [B3]. Narrative episode [B3] of SB story communicate and build knowledge regarding this principle. For example, the implementation of a wedding party held at the *Betuturu* home, and thus *ghuma punco* (home for held wedding party) is the home of the *Betuturu*. This episode narrative to communicate and form a speaker-listener in the knowledge that it contains principle of a marriage based on a *adat kulo bejujugh*, then *ghuma punco* and wedding party took place in the man's house. Based on this principle, the position of woman are subordinate to man. Based on this same principle, the practice of bride *ngulang ghunut* means a visit to the bride's parents. As also represented in the episode [B4] SB story, "*La udimimbang tu sang Betuturu dengan Kepiting ni tadi berayak ke ghuma jemo tuwo Kepiting, dengan mbatak ayam lanang sikuak dan dananan minto dua ....*" (after the wedding the *Betuturu* and *Kepiting* went home to *Kepiting* parents, bring roosters and a dish as well as offerings to ask for their blessing), which shows *ngulang ghunut* practice to the *Betuturu* parents-in-laws. Practice of *ngulang ghunut* visit to parents of the bride is an action based on the principles of *adat kulo jujugh*.

In contrast, principle of *tambik anak* and *adat kulo* communicated and constructed symbolically through episode [A1] and [A2]: Fawn of the stag that turned into a footman and taken as a adopted son by the King and given the name *Madenum*, later married *Putri Indah Dayung* (the only daughter of the King) and reside in the kingdom led *Betuturu*. From episode [A1] and [A2] is found in the principle *tambik anak* in marriage custom of Serawai ethnic group, that a man would live in his wife's family. The origin *Madenum*,

namely “fawn”, marking characteristics and a footman who were taken into the woman side of a family. The principle is generally based on consideration inability of the *tambik anak* to fulfill *pengendak* or demand of the woman. Principle of *tambik anak* typically based on the consideration that a footman was not “affluent”. Similarly, *Madenum* an incarnation fawn not affluent, not equivalent of the King family. *Madenum* are subordinate of *Putri Indah Dayung*.

This is what is meant by the term ‘match’ between what is heard and what is seen and occurred in the marriage practice as expressed Mr. Rohani to me, which showed activity interpret Betuturu text by the listeners. ‘Such is the real Serawai marriage’ is a phrase which suggests that Mr. Rohani. When listening the text for the second time and so on, to interpret the events in the story, related with daily factual experience and in running a wedding ways. Betuturu storytelling as knowledge becomes meaningful wedding because the listener has a reference to the measures of their surroundings, especially in marriage matters. This is what is meant by “... *knowledge-making activity* ....” by Sebeok (2001, 8) in the event SB story narration. Meaning it was formed because there is the reference, which is the action of in daily life related to the wedding, “... *we assign meaning to what we do and what others do*” (Teubert, 2010, 1).<sup>xxiii</sup> As a Serawai, daily life of Mr. Rohani associated with marriage practice. He was present at the event *berasan* and *bimbang* or weddings as traditional leaders as well as ordinary invitation. He was involved in the deliberations discussing marriage. He performs actions, as do most of his audience, which measures related to customary and meaningful. So, when listening to this story, Mr. Rohani find meaning in the Serawai actions during the marriage practices. The episode of the story which tells the journey of *Betuturu* to get the bride as figuratively meaning of knowledge *begadisan*, which manifestation found actualized in action during *begadisan* practice. And so on, the events in the story refers to things as designated by the actions and during marriage practice took place. It is clear that Betuturu story narrative is a means to build or construct and maintain knowledge of custom marriages, especially for custom elders.

Betuturu storytelling tradition is limited (number of audience, a certain narrative time) show that access to the story belongs only to certain circles are few in number. Additional information from my multiple informants showed this. The story in its meaning as figuratively indigenous knowledge marriage belong to the ‘elite’ *ketua adat*. Thus, storytelling is in its meaning as an activity to interpret and construct knowledge through figurative signs, as a “*knowledge-meaning activity*”, belong to an elite group of *ketua adat*. In this regard, Betuturu storytelling in a specific context is a social institution that are provided to maintain the marriage knowledge for the elite faction of *ketua adat*. Therefore, there is no access for layman to the story.

*Ketua adat* access to the knowledge of indigenous customary marriages possible given that it is an elite group of Betuturu producing text, it is clear from the fact that only *ketua-ketua adat* can be said that the text (with a note not all *ketua adat* may be narrate). “May be narrate” means having access to the text, which is concerned that the text controls. Other, especially non-status of *ketua adat* do not have access to the Betuturu text. “May be narrate” also means having the social authority to narrate or recount the text. *Ketua adat* Betuturu text-speakers have the authority to recount them, while ‘others’ do not. During the process of narrative Betuturu text, listeners (read: *ketua adat*) is co-produced and construct knowledge through the act of marriage customs interpret the story. However, the access be able to contribute their knowledge and build custom wedding custom is only possible when the *ketua adat* of the SB-speakers provide text, or when social institutions provide. Only *ketua adat*-text speaker with authority when the text will be narrated based on social calendar, for example, after harvest and before the next growing season.

Textual reality show that both narrator and listener is outside of the text. In this regard and in the level of textual, narrator convey the text and listeners listening texts. Narrator tells the story of the fawn turn into footmen and adopted son by the King and married the only daughter of the King, as well as the trip *Betuturu* looking for a wife, married, and visiting in-laws. However, socially and at the level of discourse, the story basically tells, shows, and bring back the ‘reality wedding’ that apply and place on Serawai ethnic groups, namely concerning practices of *begadisan*, *berasan* (*berasan betunang* and *berasan bekulo*), and *ngulang ghunut*. While listeners (during the ongoing process of narrative Betuturu text) not only listen to the story of the fawn’s journey and the journey of the *Betuturu* passively, but also actively bring them back factual experiences, their social realities related to the marriage practice, and get the ‘justification’ in Betuturu storytelling events. Justified because the listeners were present in Betuturu storytelling events, and actions concerning affairs during the marriage is done to get a reference to the story told by someone (*ketua adat*-story teller) who has the authority to narrate it. In such a framework, both story teller and listeners during the story telling or narrative that takes place in institutionalized, jointly constructing knowledge through symbols wedding events and characters in the story.

The access of *ketua adat* to marriage knowledge through Betuturu storytelling tradition showed preservation function of indigenous knowledge of traditional narrative the text. Remember that in the event of the narrative text only *ketua-ketua adat* who can participate both as speakers and as listeners. Thus, the text narrative function of socialization and internalization of marriage knowledge<sup>xxiv</sup> for *ketua-ketua adat*. During the narrative SB text ongoing process of occur indigenous knowledge marriage learning to the listeners, the *ketua-ketua adat*. Betuturu storytelling, providing an institutionalized opportunity for custom heads of marriage

knowledge to construct institutionalize, in addition to the opportunity for the custom heads to keep the knowledge. For custom heads, marriage knowledge constructed institutionalize through narrative the Betuturu text. Each time, as the calendar that has been given, the *ketua adat* present in the storytelling and socially have opportunity to construct and maintain marriage knowledge through Betuturu storytelling.

##### **5. Conclusion: SB story and marriage social practices of Serawai ethnic group**

As I have mentioned above indicate that the Betuturu story is figuratively marriage knowledge. Episodes in the story, events, characters and action figures of the story is figuratively knowledge and principles that manifestation can be found in the events and individual actions in marriage practices. In addition, Betuturu storytelling in particular calendar already is a tradition of socially provided for constructing and maintaining knowledge among *ketua-ketua adat*. In terms of marriage knowledge socially serves as a reference for the individual actions within the social practice of marriage and so with the *ketua-ketua adat*, Betuturu storytelling tradition is a social institution that is meant to maintain social function of *ketua-ketua adat* on marriage social practice.

Field observations show that the presence of *ketua adat* is mandatory in marriage social practice, both during the event *berasan* or *bimbang* or a wedding party. Every time *berasan* or *bimbang* held always attended by *ketua adat*. Every time deliberation in *berasan* and *bimbang* had done, always beginning with the permission of the parties' who consulted to the village head, *rajo penghulu*, *sakonam* (as a *ketua adat* representative). After the completion of the parties deliberations, then either party (usually the host) will present the results of their deliberations to the *ketua adat*. Furthermore, *ketua adat* will give the closing remarks announced or re-express what has been agreed upon the parties consulted to all who attended and all peoples. In addition to re-submit the results of the deliberations, *ketua adat* will underline that the agreement of the parties in question in accordance with the prevailing custom, and therefore binding customary. Only *ketua adat* that will closed every deliberation in *berasan* or *bimbang*, and only *ketua adat* that will conduct the deliberation results in *berasan* or *bimbang* to all peoples. This phenomenon signify the social authority of *ketua adat* for actions in the marriage practice. In this context, the legitimacy of the *berasan* or *bimbang* indicated by the presence of *ketua adat* during the practice takes place, in addition to the permissions granted and closing remarks were delivered in each of the social practice.

The presence of *ketua adat* within and during *berasan* or *bimbang* practices, granting permission from *ketua adat* to consulted parties, the parties' testimony during deliberations, re-express the consensus by custom stakeholders to all who attended and all citizen, in my view is figuratively of function of the marriage knowledge to control over parties actions during *berasan* and *bimbang* practices. In other words, *ketua adat*, as a marriage knowledge representation, has a social function to legitimate the actions of the parties who involved in the social practice in question is valid and meaningful socially, and thus socially binding.

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### The Story of Sang Betuturu

[A1] Cerito ni setuwo dengan ruso sebisanan lanang galo. Jadinyo sebisanan nido seakuran, sebab setuwo dengan ruso ndiak pacak sebisanan. Na, kato ruso,

“Kalau aku mekiak ilir berarti aku di ulu. Tapi kalau aku mekiak di ulu berarti aku di ilir”.

Pado suatu aghi setuwo tu endiak dapat makanan anako tu. Mangko dibunuahlah rusu tula. Baliak setuwo tadi ngenjuaka daging rusu tadi dengan anako. Kato dio,

“Nak, ini makan, lemak”.

“Daging tuapo tini bak?” kato anako.

“Daging rusu”.

“Ngapo bak bunuah mak sekundang aku?”

“Terpakso aku bunuah, kerno ndiak bedio lagi makanan”.

“Amo luak itu, aku enggup makano”.

Bekiciak anak setuwo dengan anak rusu,

“Mak kamu dibunuah bak aku. Mangko kito samo-samo anak umang. Kito bunuah pulo bak aku tuh”.

“Luak mano kalau ndak bunuah bak kamu?” kato anak rusu.

“Luak ini”, kato anak setuwo. “Pagi kaba tunggulah di seberang ayiak, aku pegi ngajak bak pegi pagi-pagi”.

“Au”.

Pagi nian setuwo dengan anako endak ke seberang ayiak. Setuwo ndulu bejalan, anako di belakango. Pas di tenga jambat temasuakla setuwou ke dalam lubang yang la dibuat anako dengan anak rusu. Mangko matila pulo setuwo tu. Akhiro anak rusu dengan anak setowo samo-samo anak umang.

“Na, mbak mano kito ini?”

“Bukan luak itu”, kato anak rusu, “luak mano amo aku jagal kaba. Kerno selamoni setuwola yang jagal rusu?”.

Akhiro anak rusola yang jagal anak setuwo. Temanagh galo jemo nginako, anak rusu jagal anak setuwo. Mangko temangah galo tu parak ghuma rajo tu ado kolam yang dijago ketat oleh hulubalang lengkap dengan senjatao. Para hulubalang temangah nginako, anak rusu jagal anak setuwo. Endiak disadari temasuakla dio beduo ni tadi ke dalam kolam. Mangko jadila budak bujang dio duwo ni tadi dan diangkat ratu menjadi anako. Sughang dinamoka Mademun dan sughang tu benamo Madenai.

[B1] Sedangka rajo ni punyo anak tujuwa uhang, Sang Wo, Sang Kerbo, Sang Ujai, Sang Aki, Sang Iki, Putri Indah Dayung, Sang Betuturu (Gaja Tiduak). Rajo ni la tuwo. Dio ni bingung siapoka gantika dio jadi rajo. Sedangka anako ni 6 urang lanang. Mangko kato rajo ni,

“Siapo yang pacak nyebut namo kamu betujuwa ni sekaligus (senapas), mangko diola jadi rajo. Sang Betuturu ni nido bedio di ghuma. Pertama tu Sang Wo ndulu nyebuto. Nido pulo pacak sekaligus, luak itu pulo dengan yang lain, tu nido pulo pacak nyebuto. Mangko Sang Betuturula yang pacak nyebuto. Sang Betuturu amo bahasa Jawonyo Gajah Tiduak. Mangko tu diola yang jadi rajo, awak bujang jadi rajo. Pada suatu aghi,

“Ui Bak, aku nido pacak ngerti merinta ni”.

“Pegila kaba ke depan ghuma jemo tuwo”.

Lalu budak bujang, mangko tu budak gadis lalu. Nanyola sang Betuturu dengan Bako,

“Ngapo nyo dikicika kerabai?”

“Kerno kalau dikucak dio tu nerap”.

“Ngapo nyo dikicika budak bujang budak gadis?”

“Kerno kalo ado kerjo dusun laman ni, mangko dio pacak diajunga”. “Ngapo dio dikiciaka budak keciak?”

“Anu, luak ini Betuturu la iluak kaba ni ndalak bunting. Nido buliya rajo nido bebini”.

“Dalakkela Bak!”

Datang tu didalacka dengan Bapako. Tiap didatangka gadis, nido bedio setuju. Kato Bapak,

“Kalau luak itu ndalacka kaba sughang”.

[B2] Lalu sang Betuturu pegi belayar ndalak bini. La sampai tenga laut, perahunyo mendam di tengah-tengah. Awak sughang sang Betuturu dio hanya dikawani anjing dengan kucing. Datangan sang Betuturu ni nganjunga anjing nyelam. La nyelam palak buntut nimbul. La nyelam buntut palak nimbul.

“Udimla anjing, nido ke medal kaba tu”.

Dan selanjuto diajungkala kucing dengan memasukka cincin ke ikuak kucing. Pas nyelam, “Way ado ghuma di dalam laut ni. Ado anak gadis”.

Karena cincinnyo tadi lepas dan diambiak anak gadis tadi, mangko kucing ni mintak cincin tu tadi.

“Tolongla cincin tadi, baliaka tuan aku endak melamar, endak ndalak bini”.

“Enggup aku ngenjuaka dio. Aku nilah binio”.

Karena Sang Betuturu la lamo nunggu kucing nido nimbul-nimbul. Tuapo pulo diselami. Ado budak gadis alap nianan di dalam ghuma di dalam laut tu, namonyo Kepiting. Nduk bapako nido bedio di ghumah.

“Ngapo kaba ke sini?” kato Kepiting.  
“Akuni ndalaki cicin aku lengit di sini, apo kaba ndapatka dio?”  
“Aku ndapatka dio, tapi aku enggup ngenjuaka dio”.  
“Nah aku tukari dengan ini sajo. Namonyo lading kelam pagi. Artinyo pisau kecil yang ujungnyo agak nyelup ke dalam”.

Lalu kato kepiting ni tadi,

“Baliakla kaba Sang Betuturu, ceritoka dengan Bapak kaba manso kaba la dapat calon bini”.

**[B3]** Nah, mangku tu bak sang Betuturu ni tadi nunggalka adiyak sanak manso dio tu ndak nikahka sang Betuturu. La udim tu mak Sang Betuturu bejeghum ke Bengkulu nyenguak keluarga, ndak nganjuka baliak ke ghuma o. Manso dio tu endak nikahka sang Betuturu dan bimbang tu bimbang adat, yaitu bimbang tujuwa aghi tujuwa malam. Salah surang keluarga mako tu ngiciak,

“Tuapo lagi yang lum bedio batakan endak bimbang tu, mangko kami pacak mbatako”.

Sebelum aghi jadio Sang Betuturu menepati janjio dengan kepiting. Janjio adalah ngayutka ayam lanang (berugo) di tinggirka di atas ranting dianyutka ke tenga laut mangko Kepiting tu ndarat. Para rakyat sibuk endak ngadapi bimbang adat tu. Ado dio masak gulay, ado dio masak leman. Anak belay sibuk masak gulay, anak kelaway nduluka ghuma, mantaro, angkan-angkan, daso tino, inang lapan. Pukoko sibuk galo dapat galo bagian.

**[B4]** La udim bimbang tu Sang Betuturu dengan Kepiting ni tadi berayak ke ghuma jema o tuwo Kepiting, dengan mbatak ayam lanang sikuak dan dananan minto dua yak ughang ni baliak minta dua di ghuma jemo tuo Kepiting.

**[A2]** La lamo jugo Mademun menikah dengan Putri Indah Dayung, yang mano mereka tinggal juga di kerajaan yang dipimpin Sang Betuturu dan mereka hidup bahagia.

### Translation

**[A1]** The story is about friendship a male tiger and a stag. But that friendship did not get along because tigers and stage can not be friends. The stag said,

“If I scream in downstream it means I’m in the upstream. But if I yell at the upstream I mean in downstream”.

One day the tiger did not get food for their children. So he killed the stag. The tiger return and give to stag meat to his child. The tiger said,

“Son, eat this, delicious”.

“What is meat, father?” The fawn said.

“Venison”.

“Why did you kill my friend’s father ?”

“I was forced to kill him because there is no more food”.

“If so, I do not want to eat”.

So the cub tell to the fawn,

“Your father was killed by my father. So that we are both orphans, how about we kill my father, too?”

“How kill your father?” Said the fawn.

“Well”, said the son of the tiger. “Tomorrow you waiting across the river, I would invite my father to get there early in the morning”.

“Good”.

Early in the morning the tiger and his son was about to across the river. The tiger walked in front, his son followed behind. Right in the middle of the narrow path, the tiger slip into the hole that was made by him and fawn. Then the tiger died. Finally, the son of the tiger and fawn become an orphan.

“Now we are the same, how ?”

“Not so”, said the fawn,” what if I kill you. Therefore, during this tiger always killed a deer?” So, the fawn intended to kill cub. Everyone was stunned watching fawn trying to kill a cub. Once, in the event there is a pool nearby belonged to a king. The pool was guarded by heavily armed commander. The commander also stunned watching fawn trying to kill a cub. Not realized by the fawn and cub, then both two slip into the King’s pool. So two of them incarnate footmen and then become adopted son by the king. One named *Mademun* and another named *Madenai*.

**[B1]** It is said that the king has seven children, *Sang Wo*, *Sang Kerbo*, *Sang Ujai*, *Aki*, *Iki*, *Putri Indah Dayung*, and *Betuturu*. The King is old. The confusing king who one would be succeed him as king. He has six sons. Then the king said, “Anyone is able to name seven all at once a sentence in one breath, that have right to be a king after me”.

The first mention is the *Wo*. But he could not. Similarly, the other, no one could do it. The *Betuturu* was

the one who could do that. Thus, he is entitled to be king after his father. A king is still bachelor.

One day the Betuturu said to his father,

“O father, I do not know how to govern the kingdom”.

“Get you to the front of the house of an old man”.

In front of them passing a bachelor, and then girl.

Betuturu asked to his father,

“Why the girl called *kerabai*<sup>5</sup>?”

“Because she would sulk if she bothered”.

“Why are they called bachelor and girl?”

“Because they if there are jobs in our villages, they can be asked for help”.

“Why is there called a child?”

“Look Betuturu, you should look for the girl as a wife. There should not be a king not married”.

“Looking for me a wife, father!”

So, the King find a wife for his Betuturu. Each time the King offers a girl, the Betuturu disagree. Then his father said, “If like this, look for your bride by yourself”.

**[B2]** Then Betuturu go sailing looking for a wife. Arriving in the middle of the sea, the boat stopped in the middle. The Betuturu alone and only accompanied by a dog and a cat. So he told the dog dive, but the dog can not dive. If the head dive into the water, then tail float to the surface.

“Never mind dog, you will not be able to dive”.

Furthermore he order cat dive, after the first he put a ring then tied to his tail. So dive, said the Cat, “Oh, there is home in the sea. There is also a girl”.

Unfortunately, a ring on his tail off and picked up by the girl. Thus, the cat request that the ring was returned to him.

“Please return the ring. It rings belong to my lord, he wanted to find and apply future wife”.

“I do not want to return it. I am the wife candidate of your master’s”.

Because too long wait the cat appear to surface, then *Betuturu* followed dive. Apparently there is a beautiful girl at home in the sea, her name *Kepiting*. Her parents were not at home.

“Why are you here?” Said *Kepiting*.

“I’m looking for my ring, missing here. What you find it?”

“I found it, but I will not return the ring”.

“Then, I exchange with this alone. It is called *lading kelam pagi*. A small knife that tip slightly bent”.

Then *Kepiting* said,

“Come back thou the Betuturu, tell your father that you had get the candidate’s wife”.

**[B3]** Thus, the Betuturu father gather his relatives and kinship in order to Betuturu wedding. Later, the mother of Betuturu *bejghum* to Bengkulu to visit her family, and ask them to home in order Betuturu that the wedding party will be held customary seven days and seven nights. Any one of *Betuturu* mother’s family said,

“What else are not yet available for the *bimbang* implementation, then we may be able to hold it”.

Before the wedding day, the Betuturu kept his promise to *Kepiting*. Promise was washed roosters perched on a branch and then swept away to sea. So, then *Kepiting* came ashore. People hectic preparing the traditional feast. There are cooking curry, there are cooking *lemang*. *Anak belai* busy cooking curry, *anak kelawai* cleaning and decorating the house. In short, all busy and all working parts respectively.

**[B4]** After the wedding, the Betuturu and *Kepiting* go home to *Kepiting*’s parents. They brought a rooster and offerings. Their intent asking for prayers.

**[A2]** After some time, *Mademun* married *Putri Indah Dayung*. They live in the kingdom led by the *Betuturu* and live happily.

## Notes

<sup>i</sup> Thank you profusely to my colleague, July Nunuk Astuti who have helped me get the story of Betuturu.

<sup>ii</sup> For more details about Serawai language, see Helfrich (1904), Voorhoeve (1955), Aliana (1979), and Rahayu (2012).

<sup>5</sup> *Kerebai* means “young girl”.

<sup>iii</sup> *Ketua adat* (usually the male) is a social positions given to someone as having extensive knowledge of customary law. *Ketua adat* are not the same of the village head (*kepala desa*), village-level administrative positions given by the government to an individual. *Ketua adat* lead and be responsible for all matters related to the implementation of custom, while the head of the village administration responsible for the affairs of the village. Sometimes, a village head as having extensive knowledge of customary law, it can be served as *ketua adat*.

<sup>iv</sup> “For folklore is autobiographical ethnography - that is, it is a people’s own description of Themselves.” (Dundes, Alan. The Meaning of Folklore. The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes. Edited and Introduced by Simon J. Bronner. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press , 2007, 55).

<sup>v</sup> Bascom (1984, 9); Malinowski (1984, 195); Pettazoni (1984, 102)

<sup>vi</sup> Teubert (2010, 1-2) explains as follows. “My view is that the world, our lives, the things we do or don’t do, and what happens to us, have no meaning at all, in as much as we do not appropriate them through interpretation. Our experiences only make sense when we reflect on them, or when we share them with others by talking about them, or when we weigh them against other people’s experiences as we find them in the media we consume. This is indeed what we do most of the time when we talk with each other: we assign meaning to what we do and what others do. The only reality that counts is the reality we find constructed in the discourse, in this entirety of texts that have been exchanged and shared between the people who make up society.... The discourse tells us how we experience, how we ‘feel’, what happens to us and what we do. We have learned how to experience things through the stories other people have told about their experiences. For us, too, the only way to communicate our personal experiences is by contributing them to the discourse. We cannot do that without interpreting them, without assigning meaning to them. It is the discourse that makes our lives meaningful. The discourse tells us how we can view the world, our private lives, the things we do or don’t do, and the things that happen to us. Without the discourse, these things, and even life itself, remain devoid of meaning.”

<sup>vii</sup> McKee (2003, 4) points out that “A text is something that we the make meaning from”.

<sup>viii</sup> Knowledge in discourses meaning, that is “socially constructed knowledge of some aspect of reality”(van Leeuwen, 2005, 94; van Leeuwen, 2008, 6).

<sup>ix</sup> Within the meaning of van Leeuwen “... social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things” (van Leeuwen, 2008, 6). Fairclough explains that “... social practices .... is that they articulate discourse (hence the language ) together with other non - discursual social elements . We might not see any social practice as an articulation of these elements: Action and interaction; Social relations; Persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories etc. ); The material world: Discourse” ( Fairclough , 2004, 26) ; see also Fairclough( 1995, 135).

<sup>x</sup> *Begadisan* cancellation also be due to the factor bachelor and girl still have blood relations or derived from the same *sako*. On the first visit by a bachelor to a girl’s house, usually the mother of the girl who will start conversation with the topic of the origin of the bachelor. From the beginning of this conversation will be known whether the bachelor and the girl was related or not.

<sup>xi</sup> Helfrich explains *Nunang gadis* as “het geven van 5 rijksdalders als pand en teeken door een jongeling aan het meisje, waarmede hij zich wil verloven”, grant of 5 rijksdalders (Dutch currency) as evidence or guarantee and sign given by a bachelor to a girl that he loved or liked ( Helfrich, 1904, 190).

<sup>xii</sup> From the basic word *jeghum* , which means “say”, “tell”, “notify” (Helfrich, 1904, 41) interpret “zeggen”, “vertellen”, “mede-deelen”. Nowadays the Serawai ethnic group still live *bejeghum* tradition, which invites orally. If a family intends to invite close relatives living in villages far enough, then it is typically a husband and wife who went *bejeghum*. However, if the immediate family was living in a nearby village, then the owner’s intent to assign one of his relatives (to both men and women can also) for *bejeghum*.

<sup>xiii</sup> Word *kulo* (often collocation with *tali*, became *tali kulo*) means bonds or ties of blood. Helfrich explains that the *kulo* or *kulaw* means “patriarchal huwelijk” (Helfrich, 1904:80). In our opinion, the word *kulo* related to Sanskrit which means “a race, family, community, tribe, caste, sets, company” (see Monier - Williams, 1990, 294) .

<sup>xiv</sup> *Sakonam* derived from the *sako* (which means “tiang” or “origin”) and *nam* (which means “six”). *Sakonam* is a collection of “six persons” who are descended from six different Poyang (not have blood ties) who are in a village or in one clan. These days are not always six in number, but can be three, as in the Tumbukan Sukaraja District Seluma Regency. In order of Serawai custom, *sakonam* is a social institution that control the custom in the village or clan in question. In the event of a dispute between residents, such as theft, murder, including in matters of marriage customs administration, *sakonam* has the duty and authority to settle them.

<sup>xv</sup> *Uang pengendak* (also called *uang antaran*) is the amount of money requested by the girl family’s to the bachelor’s family as a consequence of a girl married by a bachelor. The amount of *uang pengendak* depends on status and position of the bachelor, but ranges between 5-20 million rupiah. *Uang pembantu kawin* is the money

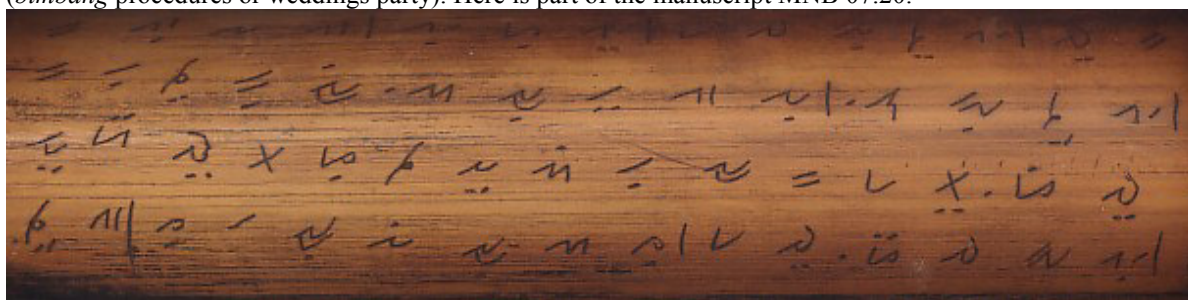


given by the bachelor family to the girl's family to help the implementing a wedding. The amount of *uang pembantu kawin* is uncertain, suitable with sincerity of bachelor's family.

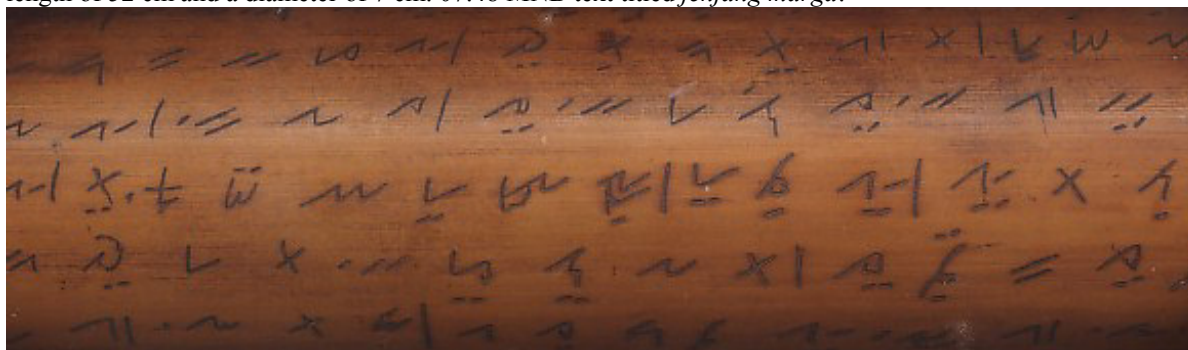
<sup>xvi</sup> *Nughunka* (from the word *tughun* means 'down') implies the family took off her son out of the house to the house of his future wife. The word 'down', given the generally traditional ethnic house Serawai is a stage, so get out of the house means down from the house.

<sup>xvii</sup> *Pengujung* is commonly used to receive male guests of the man entourage family. The woman who helped usher the groom placed elsewhere in the house or in tents provided. *Pengujung*, in some places called the *balai*, or *lepaw*, is a temporary building, story board stage, with a tin roof or thatch, set up in front of the left *ghuma punco*. It is very rare *pengujung* set up in the front of the right side *ghuma punco*, except as impossible situations. For example, because the left front yard of *ghuma punco* a slope that is not possible if it was set or because there is a large tree impossible to cut down or there are no houses or roads

<sup>xviii</sup> Manuscript MNB 07.20 is a collection of the State Museum of Bengkulu, a single parts of bamboo bunch, length 57 cm, diameter 6.5 cm. This manuscript is Ulu letters, derivative script and the development of Indonesian Pallava script (Gonda, 1973:85). Manuscript MNB 07.20 titled *secaro adatimbang belepaw* (*bimbang* procedures or weddings party). Here is part of the manuscript MNB 07.20.



Manuscripts MNB 07.48 is a collection of the State Museum of Bengkulu, a single part of bamboo bunch with a length of 52 cm and a diameter of 7 cm. 07.48 MNB text titled *jenjang marga*.



<sup>xix</sup> In the Rejang ethnic group of Bengkulu also known as *lèkèt* the same meaning with *jujugh* (see Wink, 1926, Hazarin, 1936, and Siddik, 1980).

<sup>xx</sup> In this case Hazarin gives the following explanation. "Bij dit huwelijk moet de familie van den man de *lèkèt* betalen aan de familie van de vrouw. Volgens de adat is het bedrag van de *lèkèt* 80 realen groot. Behalve dit bedrag moet de man nog de *lèkèt*-ornamenten geven. De voornaamste dezer ornamenten zijn: een *tombak*, een *kris-tanda-semangat*, zoogenaamd als vervanging van het mes dat bij de geboorte van het meisje gebruikt werd om haar navelstreng door te snijden; een *kris-lengkap*, dat is een *kris*, die bedekt met drie soorten metalen plaatjes, namelijk gouden, zilveren en *aso-aso* plaatjes. *Aso-aso* is een alliage van goud en brons; een *kris-rego-ampat*, dat is een *kris* ter waarde van 8 realen; een *sewar-betepang*; wanneer de aanstaandevrouw de jongste dochter der familie is, (*si boengsoe*), dan wordt de ornamentatie vermeerderd met een *pedang* (zwaard).... Maar één karaktertrek hebben ze gemeen, ze dienen allemaal als magische middelen om den band tusschen de vrouw en haar familie door te snijden, eenerzijds om haar in het familieverband van den man op te nemen. De *belèkèt*-vrouw, (getrouwd volgens de adat *djoedjoer*) verbreekt de banden met haar eigen familie om geheel opgenomen te worden in het familie van den man." (Hazarin, 1936, 41-46).

<sup>xxi</sup> "De *tambik-anak-man* wordt opgenomen in het familieverband van zijn vrouw, zonder echter zijn eigen familieband te verliezen, immers hij wordt niet magisch vervangen. Maar daarmee is niet gezegd, dat het hem nu vrij staat om zich te wenden tot zijn eigen familie in de hem betreffende aangelegenheden van zijn vrouwsfamilie. Dan is hij niet een echte familielid van zijn vrouw en haar soekoe-genooten, dan is hij geen echte

*zoon des huizes (anak-roemah) der vrouwsfamilie, dan is hij trouwloos, een verrader.*” (Hazarin, 1936, 46). See also Siddik (1980, 233).

<sup>xxii</sup> *Signified* as a discourse in the meaning of van Leeuwen (2005, 94) and van Leeuwen (2008, 6), that is “the knowledge of marriage”.

<sup>xxiii</sup> See also Chandler (2007, 60).

<sup>xxiv</sup> Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1990, 176-87 and 98).

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